DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 421 783 EA 029 190

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TITLE Examining One High School's Restructuring Efforts within "Garbage Can" Decision Making Theory.
PUB DATE 1998-04-00
NOTE 45p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (San Diego, CA, April 13-17, 1998).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Case Studies; High Schools; Interviews; *Participative Decision Making; Qualitative Research; *School Based Management; *School Restructuring; *Urban Schools
IDENTIFIERS *Garbage Can Theory

ABSTRACT

A study examined decision making within one large urban high school's restructuring efforts, using an emergent qualitative case-study design. Data, collected over a 2-year period, included formal and informal interviews, participant and nonparticipant observations, surveys, and documents. Results of data analysis supported matching the "garbage can" decision-making model to conditions of restructuring. Eight study conclusions were supported: (1) initiating restructuring created the conditions of "organized anarchy," characterized by unclear goals, fluid participation, and uncertain technology; (2) "garbage can" decision factors--problems, solutions, participation, and choice opportunities--seemed to operate interdependently and potentiated one another; (3) all four factors needed to be present for a decision to be made; (4) the frequency of decision-making activity increased in the early stages of restructuring, and at the peak of activity, decisions tended to be determinant and lasting; (5) leadership behavior was a mitigating factor in the amount of organized anarchy; (6) participant involvement was affected by context factors within any given restructuring activity; (7) participant involvement varied based on timing factors; and (8) participants had varying purposes for their involvement. Five implications for theory and practice are discussed. (Contains 43 references.) (Author/MLH)

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ED 421 783

EXAMINING ONE HIGH SCHOOL'S RESTRUCTURING EFFORTS WITHIN "GARBAGE CAN" DECISION MAKING THEORY

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Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Diego, CA, April 1998

EA 029 190

EXAMINING ONE HIGH SCHOOL'S RESTRUCTURING EFFORTS WITHIN "GARBAGE CAN" DECISION MAKING THEORY

The purpose of this study was to examine decision making within one large urban high school's efforts to restructure. The study used an emergent qualitative case study design. Data were collected over a two-year time period and included formal and informal interviews, participant and non-participant observations, surveys and documents. Results of data analysis supported the match of the "garbage can" decision-making model to the conditions of the restructuring. Eight study conclusions were supported. First, initiating restructuring created the conditions of "organized anarchy," characterized by unclear goals, fluid participation and uncertain technology. Second, "garbage can" decision factors--problems, solutions, participation and choice opportunities--were observed to operate interdependently and potentiated one another. Third, all four of these factors needed to be present in a given context for a decision to be made. Forth, the frequency of decision-making activity increased in the early stages of the restructuring, and at the peak of activity decisions tended to be determinant and lasting. Fifth, leadership behavior was a mitigating factor in the amount of "organized anarchy." Sixth, participant involvement was affected by context factors within any given restructuring activity. Seventh, participant involvement varied as a result of its timing within the process. Eighth, participants had varying purposes for their involvement in restructuring activities related to a complex series of internal and external factors. The study concludes with five implications for theory and practice.

INTRODUCTION

Since the *Nation at Risk* study in 1983 (National Council on Excellence in Education), there has been an increased awareness of the need for schools to improve. The result has been a proliferation of school reform efforts of all kinds (Lieberman, 1995).

Within this trend, many reform efforts, especially those during the past few years, have approached reform from a "systemic" point of view. These systemic reforms have proposed to change the fundamental ways schools and school districts operate. This trend toward more systemic reform is a response to two factors (Newmann & Wehlage, 1995). First, single-issue or add-on curriculum improvements were seen as ineffective. The systems within the school would ultimately resist them over time (Plas, 1992). Second, there was a strong feeling among many that schools did not just need to do better, they needed to be rethought, redesigned, and ultimately reformed (Levine, 1995).

While a great deal of enthusiasm, sincerity, and expertise has gone into the many efforts to restructure, the results have been mixed, and the process not well understood (Roemer, 1991). Much of this lack of understanding is related to the difficulty of diagnosing the problems of these complex institutions called schools. As Goodlad (1984) suggests, "We are only beginning to identify the most significant problems, some of which are deeply entrenched and virtually chronic" (p. xvi). The complexity of schools and their systemic, often change-resistant, nature is frequently underestimated. Furthermore, as Goodlad (1984) notes, "Simple diagnosis and simple solutions abound" (p.xvii). Yet the multitude of good ideas has usually been translated into minimal structural change (Vinovskis, 1996).

It has become increasingly apparent that the *type* of reform is often less significant than the ***manner*** in which it is carried out (Newmann, 1995). Practices that make school restructuring efforts enduring and effective are becoming more common, yet a fundamental understanding of why certain approaches work remains poorly understood. Restructuring is, by nature, enigmatic. While there are a growing number of models that provide guiding structures for implementing all-school reforms (Glickman, 1993), factors within the change process have received surprisingly little attention. As Fullan (1993) suggests, regarding change at the high school level, "The microprocesses of change are probably the most neglected aspects of research on high schools" (p. 253).

Part of the restructuring trend is the emergence of site-based governance, the movement of decision making back to those within the schools. Many states presently support the development of site-based governance, often providing direct incentives and guiding policies (Vinovskis, 1996). The nature of site-based decision making creates an even greater need to understand the micro-processes within the school operation. When the politics of decision making take place largely at the site level, those internal processes can determine the development, and ultimately the success, of any effort to reform. As a result, understanding these processes becomes critical if this new wave of reform is to produce meaningful outcomes.

School personnel involved in restructuring efforts that include site-based decision making face a task that is often more difficult and unpleasant than they had expected (Hannay, 1995). Decisions must come collectively from staffs that may not have been previously asked to work collaboratively, through a process that is, commonly, new and

unfamiliar (Glickman, 1993). This decision-making activity manifests itself in an interpersonal environment filled with political, practical, and personal issues that are often covert when reform is viewed as only an administrative/technical matter.

Purpose of the Study

The overall purpose of this study is to examine decision making within an urban high school's efforts to restructure. It investigates the first two years of Smith High School's (a pseudonym) restructuring process, which included the implementation of a site-based form of governance. The goal of the study is to articulate the outlines of a grounded theory regarding decision making within the restructuring context.

Research Questions

In examining the decision making at Smith High, the following two questions provide guidance for the inquiry. First, how are decisions made within the school as it restructures? This question is examined primarily with the use of a theoretical framework (March & Olsen, 1976) that interprets decision making within the context of organizational dynamics. Second, how does participation in decision making and curriculum restructuring manifest itself? Addressing this question includes an examination of the type and level of staff involvement. These questions were examined as distinct themes in light of the data collected and the literature on school restructuring, and in relation to one another as part of a holistic qualitative analysis.

Methods

Data for the study were collected over a two-year period. An emergent qualitative research design was employed. The choice of qualitative methods was determined by the nature of the research problem. The interdependent and process-oriented nature of a school restructuring effort could not have been adequately studied within an experimental framework. Qualitative methodologies were needed to capture the contextual and organic quality of the restructuring process. Data were collected from a wide range of sources including semi-structured interviews, informal brief interviews, participant observation, and documents. Participants for interviews were chosen purposively to provide a representative yet rich participant perspective. In addition, various survey data were gathered, including a pre-assessment of faculty attitudes related to the proposed restructuring as well as ongoing formative evaluation surveys of various aspects of curricular and governance changes.

Participant observation and field observational techniques were used extensively. During the two-year period, the researcher was allowed to take part in many key planning meetings. This access, and the high quantity of official and unofficial documentation related to the restructuring, provided the researcher with substantial first-hand accounts of the planning and policy-making process.

A constant comparative analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) of the data was used. Interviews were transcribed, and all data were catalogued, coded, and then analyzed to identify emerging themes. This interactive data analysis ultimately led to the decision to use an organizational analysis of decision making as a grounded theory.

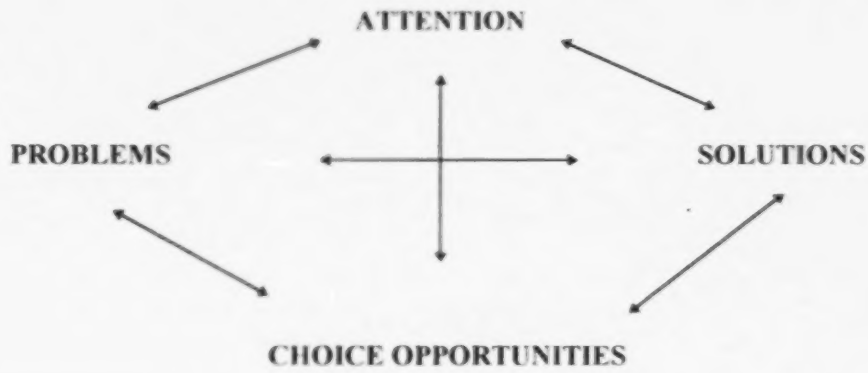
Theoretical Framework

While there have been countless models developed to examine organizational change (Clark, Foster & Gaynor 1994), the nature of school restructuring requires a theoretical model that can adequately treat decision making within an organization in transition. Moreover, data collected early in the study suggested that decision making was central to the grounded theoretical analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) of the change process at Smith. As a result, March and Olsen's (1976) "garbage can" model of decision making was chosen as the most appropriate framework to examine the decision making within the school's restructuring effort.

The term "garbage can" is used as a metaphor in the model. Decision making is depicted as occurring in various places and times (committees, groups, gatherings, etc.) with varying levels of participation. In contrast to conceptions of organizational decision making that characterize decision processes as predictable, bureaucratic, rational activities, taking place among actors with well defined roles and aims, March and Olsen (1976) suggest that choices are made as a result of the interplay among four factors: problems, solutions, participation, and choice opportunities. Each of these four factors, or streams as they are called, is separate but interdependent. Problems can be both large and small, and are often unknown until solutions, participation, or necessity initiate them. Solutions are defined as someone's product, and can often precede the other four factors. March and Olsen (1976) examine participation in decision making as a form of attention. Attention is described as a limited resource, and thus involvement in decision making is dependent on many variables (e.g., time, status, importance, and one's other involvement). Choice opportunities are situations where the organization is expected to produce behavior that could be called a decision. A problem, a new idea, or an outside factor may arise necessitating that a choice be made. According to the model, organizational decisions and consequent organizational action are the by-products of these four factors being simultaneously present. Without all four factors contributing adequately, decision making can achieve only limited efficacy.

According to March and Olsen (1976), restructuring provides a school with an opportunity to redefine and improve its curriculum and service delivery; however, often this is only a secondary outcome within the broader arena of sociopolitical activity. Undertaking systemic reform upsets the status quo and redefines the sociopolitical structure. This dynamic environment is an occasion for groups and individuals to gain power. It is an opportunity to define or change the political relationships among groups. The vacuum created by the uncertainty regarding the directions of the restructuring creates the arena for fiercely competing interests and values. It also can be an occasion for rewriting the school's history. What had gone before, what happened as a result of previous reform efforts, what the school traditionally stood for--each of these defining realities may be called into question and become open to redefinition. In addition, while it is often unrecognized, change is an occasion for participant enjoyment and gratification. The dynamic and creative nature of change provides opportunities for self-renewal, enjoyment, collegiality, and several fulfilling experiences often lacking in the traditional world of schools.

Figure A: **The Interaction of the Four Factors in Organizational Decision Making Proposed by March and Olsen's (1976) Garbage Can Model.**



Organizational action is seen as the result of the interaction of these four dimensions of the decision-making event. The potency of any decision event is dependent on the synchronization of the four dimensions.

Figure A illustrates the interaction of the four dimensions that characterize organizational decision activity. The problems, solutions, participation, and situations in which decisions are expected, termed "choice opportunities," all manifest themselves within the decision event defining its outcome. The capacity for organizational decisions to occur and/or to be effective requires the existence and positive interaction of all four factors. This study examined school decision making by analyzing how these factors were exhibited and interacted in a restructuring school.

EXAMINATION OF THE DATA

Study Context

Smith High is a public school of about 1500 students located in a medium-sized city in the western United States. The building is a three-story brick structure built in 1932. The faculty is very experienced, with many teachers having taught at Smith for 20 to 30 years. The school is located in a community its residents describe as "lower class." Twenty-two percent of the student body identify themselves as "minority." Approximately 60 percent of the students at Smith are eligible for free or reduced lunch. Thirty percent drop out on average. In a recent survey, 600 students were identified as being technically "at-risk"[1] of dropping out of school or failing, and few Smith graduates ever complete a four year degree (about six percent on a recent survey). Often, the most academically oriented students move away or attend a local private high school.

In 1988, the entire current administrative team of four was hired at Smith. These administrators felt a need at that time to reexamine the curriculum in an attempt to serve the needs of the students better, but were not sure how to do this. In 1992, a new superintendent with an agenda for change was hired in Smith's district. A year later, the state began to instigate broad-based reforms, and encouraged schools to restructure and adopt some form of site-based governance. Given the growing perception that "changes were due," the Smith staff began to utilize the resources from the state and the district to improve its curriculum in hope that the students would be better served. By the fall of 1994, Smith High had decided to undertake an all-school restructuring effort that was to involve every staff member. During the next two years, the time period of this study, Smith staff were involved in various aspects of restructuring including the implementation of site-based governance and curriculum changes. The curriculum restructuring would ultimately include the adoption of a new course structure and ninth grade orientation course.

Smith had a diverse personality mix on its administrative team. The team of three males and one female were hired by the district in 1989 and came on board together. Each member, including Principal Kappelman, a large quiet man, had both supporters and detractors among the staff. The relationships between administrative team and faculty were cordial, but more familiar than cohesive. And, as is typical of large public high schools, what went on in the classrooms was the domain of the teachers and virtually free of administrator interference.

The Smith faculty, like many high school faculties, acted and thought very departmentally. This departmental fragmentation was exacerbated by the compartmentalized nature of the classroom locations in the school. The departmentalism and the differing values espoused by the departments, as well as their gender make-up, created a very fragmented campus. The departments had progressively become separate on both professional and personal levels. One math teacher said that he used to attend all school functions, "but now they are just no fun; I mostly keep to myself and interact with those [in my department]." Those in the annex, which housed the Social Studies and Applied Technologies Departments, were seen as the most isolated socially as well as

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[1] "At-risk" students were defined as those whom teachers judged to possess two or more criterion characteristics or behaviors from a list of 21 items (e.g., low attendance, incomplete assignments, low interest in school, signs of alcohol or drug abuse, etc.)

professionally. One teacher who worked on the second floor of the main building described them in the following way:

> Some of [the division among the faculty] interestingly enough is where you are in the building. . . there is the annex out there, that is seen as totally recalcitrant. . . No matter what we do they decide they do not want to do it. . . the [teachers of] shop--and everyone away from us in the portables are cut off and kind of apathetic--they don't hurt anyone, they don't do anything really [in the restructuring].

In addition to geographic divisions the Smith faculty was deeply separated across gender and ideological lines. One male faculty member who had just resigned from the teacher's union because of what he referred to as its "liberal bias" echoed the sentiments of many of the staff. He said, "At Smith we have some issues that are real divisive, for instance the sexual orientation issue. . . There is the right wing- left wing political issue, [and] some strong management issues. There are so many."

Between 1992 and 1996 Smith High School underwent significant changes in its organizational behavior, governance structure, and curriculum. The paramount event in these changes was the all-school decision in the spring of 1993 to undertake a comprehensive "restructuring" effort. The influences that most profoundly spurred this decision were a combination of both internal and external conditions. First, the past decade has been an era of reform. This fact was not lost on those at Smith. They felt the need to enguge in this era of renewal. Second, recent policies at the state and district level encouraged schools to restructure and adopt site-based governance (SBG). The state in which Smith High is located endorsed SBG and provided grant money as an incentive to schools that made a commitment to reforms including site-based governance. Third, the Smith staff became increasingly aware that they were not meeting the needs of most of their students. This perception was pervasive and growing, and was supported by data.

The study findings regarding the restructuring activities at Smith will be reported in four phases. Phase I constitutes all the restructuring activity through Spring 1994 that led up to the decision to undertake all-school restructuring. Phase II includes the early activity that took place just after the decision, and includes the Fall semester 1994. Phase III constitutes the Spring semester of 1995, where many of the patterns had been set. Phase IV includes the second year 1995-96 of the restructuring, when a newly developed freshmen orientation course called GOLD was implemented. Narrative findings from each phase will be reported followed by an analysis of the data within the "garbage can" framework.

Phases of Restructuring

Phase I: Pre-formal Restructuring (1989- Spring 1994)

In 1989, after an all new administrative team had a year to settle in, the Smith staff did a comprehensive self-study. The results of the study clearly illustrated the need for change. The data suggested that the school was not adequately meeting the needs of the 70 percent or more of the students who would not go on to higher education. There was at the same time a growing feeling of self-dissatisfaction among staff. As one teacher put it, "we were not adequately serving the needs of the students we have. We are not doing too bad of a job with the college bound kids, but only 30 percent of the students go on to college and we are not meeting the needs of the rest."

The district hired a new superintendent in the fall of 1992. This was in part spurred by the efforts of the teachers' union. They wanted someone who, in the words of one administrator, "had a vision and a plan." The new superintendent wanted change and liked the idea of schools having more control over their own operations. As a result, there was a growing amount of district money and support that made thinking about restructuring more possible. The district made an unprecedented commitment to provide the schools with planning time for inservice activities. This began with a half-day release during the 1992-93 school year and grew substantially.

In April, 1993, there were a number of existing committees at Smith that dealt with matters related to various school functions. These included committees for curriculum, assessment, communications, alternative programs, cocurricular activities, and equity issues. These committees each met about once a month. However, none of these committees was responsible for addressing issues of systemic changes needed at Smith. "Restructuring" was a relatively new word at this time.

In spring 1993, there was a dinner attended by many of the active teachers, concerned parents, administrators, and an educational consultant who, among other things, recommended that Smith form a "vision committee" to guide and conceive a new direction. Soon after, the administration enlisted parent, teacher, and student volunteers for a vision committee that began to meet one morning each week. The leader of this group at this time was Marilyn Branch, a social studies teacher with 23 years of experience.

Ms. Branch had been lobbying for changes in the school for the past year or so. She had also been involved in the union and the legislature. She had read the work of Carl Glickman (1993) and had a strong belief in a governance system that involved teachers and parents. While she was not very popular with the rest of the faculty as a result of what could be called "personality conflicts," the relevance of her ideas began to take hold among the faculty.

While the vision committee was to be a representative group, the early membership seemed to be more voluntary. Branch described it this way:

> We've now got these parents used to showing up on Thursdays, which they never had before, and what they said was being listened to. We had a student there, and she was not really representative of the students she was really self-appointed. And that was the problem with that committee. Many of the them were self-appointed. There was no structure. People would show up, vote, and then never come back again.

The vision committee was supposed to represent the interests of all constituencies of the school but was dominated by those whom Ms. Branch called the "middle-aged women." This group included Patti Case and Meg Webster, both English teachers; Betty Tinder, a Home Economics Teacher; and Sally Rubin, a Counselor. The committee wrote the school vision statement, which took over four months. The length of the process reflected the dynamics of the group. One member referred to it this way: "The first year we had a lot of right brained teachers and philosophical types, and it drove the parents nuts." Another member suggested Ms. Branch's leadership style contributed to the ambiguity of the meetings. She characterized Branch as, "a random romantic, and all over the place. . . people stopped coming to the meetings they were so frustrating."

The principal, Mr. Dean Kappelman, supported the work of the vision committee, for the most part. He knew that Smith High School needed to do a better job with the 70 percent of the students who were not going to college. He had heard about a program called Tech Prep. The program involved making high school more applied and practical so that it prepared the non-college-bound students for real-world skills. He also liked the idea of teachers and parents being more involved in the decision making of the school. He said on many occasions that he felt, "people help bring about that which they create." However, some teachers questioned his ability to give up the control. One teacher suggested, "I think he wasn't ready [at the time the restructuring began] to let the staff make the changes. . . he was just nervous a bunch of radical teachers would take over." Another teacher believed, "He says it is the staff's idea, but he knows what he wants to have happen."

In the spring of 1994, the state legislature developed a program to provide grants to schools to help them achieve the new state learning goals. These were referred to as Student Learning Improvement Grants (SLIG). The allocations were made to each school in relation to the number of students that would be affected by the improved practices. Given the size of Smith, the allocation for the first year, 1994-95, was approximately $72,000. Once a school successfully demonstrated that it was on the road to substantive improvement the moneys could be spent at its discretion. Part of the requirement was having parent and student involvement in the school planning and developing a school charter. Smith had already taken those steps so it easily qualified for the SLIG money. As one teacher remembered, "When we heard that you needed a charter and parents involved, we thought we already have that. . . and as the administration went to other schools and saw where they were in their planning, they just thought, wow! We are way ahead of these people."

To aid them in this restructuring process Smith used some of their SLIG money to hire two professors from a nearby university. One of the teachers who worked in the Applied Technology department suggested one of the professors, Phil Stevens, because of his background in forms of applied academics such as Tech Prep. Stevens enlisted the services of his colleague, Don Warren, a curriculum specialist. The two approached the school university partnership with a great deal of enthusiasm, but had been previously involved in school reforms and knew that, by nature, they were prone to failure.

In the spring of 1994, there was a growing feeling among the faculty that restructuring was to be a reality. As a result, many teachers used the opportunity to suggest possible directions. Among the directions was Glasser's approach to developing a "quality school" (Glasser, 1990). This was a system of managing the relationships and systems within the school. Many felt that it would help the school become a more functional community. Other teachers felt that the school should raise its academic standards and do a better job preparing all its students for the opportunity to succeed in college. Others felt that having a greater degree of discipline was necessary.

An applied-type curriculum such as that outlined in models of Tech Prep was supported by many, but made others nervous. The concept of Tech Prep involved making the present curriculum more applied to the real world of work, especially that which related to technology and vocational areas where most Smith students were realistically headed. Teachers wondered how they would teach it, and many teachers felt their subjects did not

lend themselves to a vocational emphasis. At this point all ideas seemed, in many teachers' minds, to have a legitimate opportunity to be considered for adoption by the staff.

Ms. Branch continued to make a determined effort to educate the faculty and administration in the ways of Glickman's (1993) approach to renewing a school. This approach outlined a plan for developing a "democratic school," which included a charter and a democratic governance structure. Although the other teachers were becoming more familiar with and supportive of the model, Branch's style of gaining agreement won her little following as a leader. Her methods of educating the other staff were described by another teacher as "terrorist tactics." Another teacher suggested that she did a great deal of "self-aggrandizement and name dropping of those she knew in the legislature." While Ms. Branch's intention was to convince the faculty of the rational value of this approach, and in her words, "its basis in research," the Glickman (1993) model remained only a latent concept until more popular members of the faculty, the administration, and the university partners began to support it. Branch was voted out of the leadership of the vision committee and soon essentially dropped out of active involvement in the restructuring.

In spring of 1994 a number of the staff from Smith attended a cross-state conference that included several sessions related to restructuring and vocational education. The group was organized by the district vocational representative. At the conference, there were sessions focused on models for the incorporation of Tech Prep. One session presented a model from a local city high school outlining their ninth grade orientation class. The idea was brought back to the school and made a favorable impression with Principal Kappelman and Vice Principal Paxton. Later in the spring, the ideas from the conference were presented to the faculty in an all-staff meeting. Both Tech Prep and the ninth grade orientation course were to fit into the concept of "career pathways." In this curriculum framework, each student would select a pathway that best fit his or her career interests and aptitudes. But at this point no formal model for these pathways had been developed.

The concept of a ninth grade orientation course (referred to later as GOLD: goals, orientation, leadership, and decisions) was fairly well received by the faculty, but the problems created by another freshmen requirement were troubling to some. One vocational teacher described the events of a spring, 1994, faculty meeting:

> When the GOLD was sold to the school, they came in and we had a faculty meeting and we were going to vote on it. The vote was--get this--Tom Pope stands up there with [Vice Principal] Paxton and they say, 'put out 4 fingers if you think it's great, three if you think it's good, two for OK and so on.' And that was the way the vote was done--everybody raised their hands. So they say, 'wow! And we don't even need to go any further [after getting the results of the informal survey], that is wonderful!' Now we had one faculty meeting on this stuff, and they said it would not affect the schedule for the freshman classes, and, one, it would be required, and, two, they said freshman Social Studies would become a half a semester. I'm thinking someone is losing FTE's [full time equivalents] in the process. I just walked out of there, and said, 'wow! Now did that just happen?'

Smith had in previous times undertaken many program implementations and efforts to improve its practices and curriculum, but never before had it referred to past efforts as restructuring. This effort was to be different because it was to be both systemic and faculty driven. The faculty was wary of outsiders coming in and selling the administration on a school reform scheme that would eventually die away or be proven ineffective. This feeling seemed to be partially responsible for the staff's selection of Tom Pope for project

coordinator for the first year. Pope was a realist who was not sold easily. He was a well respected science teacher who had a lot of faith in the faculty, if they were given a chance. In his words, "It doesn't work when ideas come from the outside, people just ride them out and the ideas fade away. If this is going to work it has to be our idea, we have to make it make sense for this school."

However, to restructure without a clear end result would be a fearful undertaking for many staff. One Foreign Language teacher expressed the feelings of many of the faculty in describing her experience this way:

> This whole thing is totally confusing. . . it's exciting and exhausting. . . there is fear because there is no model for where we are to go, will it be worth it? I appreciate having the input, because the teachers are the ones who are going to have to make it happen, but that is also a burden. I guess you have really conflicting emotions about it.

Analysis of Phase I

The early decision-making activity can be examined within the "garbage can" model framework and its four basic factors comprising decision activity. As discussed earlier, these factors are problems, participation, solutions, and choice opportunities. Each of these factors was present in this early phase, and as is typically the case, the various factors interacted. Yet the early activity was driven primarily by a collection of solutions, and secondarily by an external choice opportunity in the form of state and district encouragement.

Analysis of the four factors. At this stage, the problems to be addressed by the restructuring were many but still not well understood nor agreed upon. Many of the problems, such as the various lines of division among the faculty, had existed for many years, while others seemed to be a result of the restructuring effort itself. During phase I, there was little agreement about what the problems with the school were. This was evidenced in the multitude of agenda for change that were being set out at this time. On the one hand, addressing the problems related to the curriculum were to be the domain of all faculty and in particular the members of the curriculum committee. Part of restructuring in a site-based environment meant examining what needed to be changed. On the other hand, as the problems would become defined, they would be inherently attached to the way particular teachers taught, the relative importance of certain classes and departments, and the values and agenda of the staff.

In this early phase of the process, the patterns of participation were less defined and more haphazard than they would be in later phases. Ideas and suggestions for changes, large and small, came from various sources. Ideas were not closely linked with power in a kind of free forum environment. While those who were participating at this point would make a significant contribution, their early participation was rarely predictive of their later influence or involvement. It could be inferred that the bearers of ideas were less important to the process at this point than were their ideas.

The state and district influences created an externally driven choice opportunity. This was characterized by, as one teacher suggested, a, "change or we will change you message." But this was accompanied by enabling factors such as release time and state grant money that made the practical aspects of restructuring more possible. These factors

created an opportunity to do what many had wanted to previously but had lacked the reasons to do so.

While the choice opportunity, propelled by outside forces, was a major catalyst for change, solutions certainly drove the early decision activity. The changes began essentially without any real sense of what it was that needed changing, who was going to do it, how they were going to do it, or an organizational framework in place to coordinate such an effort. What Smith did have was an overarching solution, namely restructuring, and a series of small good ideas that seemed to the administration like they would make sense given the school as it was. These smaller solutions included ideas from every corner of the educational community. The solutions that emerged in this phase that were to have a lasting influence included the concept of integrated curriculum, an endorsement for collaboration, Tech Prep, and the increasingly central concept of career pathways. But, as will become increasingly evident, each solution created a series of problems, a need for staff attention, and a demand for decisions to be made. And the grand choice opportunity to restructure created a destabilization of the institutional patterns and a magnification of organizational ambiguity.

This organizational ambiguity was exaggerated in part by the impending change in the way people were being asked to interact. The decision to change practices and make decisions collectively was going to require teachers to come out of their classroom domains, first to interact, and second to be responsible for taking part in policy formation that would affect the entire school.

Phase II: Formal Restructuring Begins (Fall, 1994)

By fall 1994, the faculty of Smith High were all aware that they were involved in an all-school restructuring effort. Before finishing the previous school year, the faculty had a meeting and, as one administrator put it, "the staff in a sense set a direction." They chose to enter into a formal all-faculty restructuring effort. This effort was to include the governance structure, the curriculum and any and all aspects of Smith as a school. But while there was much anticipation and sense of possibility, there was also much insecurity. Principal Kappelman described the process as ambiguous and uncertain. He said,

> I think one of the problems with this whole restructuring thing is that there is no ideal model, and I think at times we are functioning as an amoebae. There is no real head. We just kind of meander within certain parameters and movement, and I think at times that makes some staff uncomfortable not knowing where we are going. . . . I think we have been moving without direction.

The university restructuring leaders who had been hired with SLIG money were coming to Smith about once a week. They provided much of the direction that Kappelman felt he could not provide. Yet they were only at the school occasionally and did not see it as their place to become administrative leaders or take over the guidance of the process.

In the early fall, the university leaders met with each teacher in 20 minute short interview sessions over a two day period. The meetings were scheduled for two primary reasons: first, to hear teacher concerns one-on-one, and, second, to enlist the teachers into one of the areas of the restructuring. These areas were placed on the chalkboard of the meeting room and included authentic assessment, class management, parental involvement, team building, career pathways, Tech Prep, integrated curriculum, school-to-work,

community involvement, and case management. It was hoped that through an individual conference each teacher could find a place to get involved in the restructuring process. Most teachers agreed to focus on at least one of the areas. Few teachers at this point were openly unsupportive of the restructuring or the presence of the university leaders.

The teachers were given blocks of time in addition to their planning periods each week to work on restructuring duties. This was called "collaborative time." While it was essential to many who were involved on a committee, and any of the several groups trying to develop integrated curriculum ideas, this time became increasingly used as another class preparation period, or just a free period. As one teacher put it, "I don't think there are a lot of people using that time for restructuring, most are just getting another period off."

The preceding spring the university partners had surveyed faculty members to determine some of their specific attitudes toward the possible directions of the restructuring. The results of the survey showed that most of the faculty supported the reforms in concept, but were not clear as yet how they would fit in. The support could be seen in the following survey items (Figure B1) and the proportion of the response that was positive.

Figure B1: Selected Spring 1994 Survey Results

SURVEY QUESTION	*RESPONSE RATE*	
#2. Are you willing to be an active participant in the Smith High School restructuring effort?	yes 97%	no 3%
#3. Would you be willing to change your teaching situation (how, what and with whom you teach), if it meant better preparation of your students for post-secondary educational pursuits?	yes 95%	no 5%
#4. Would you be willing to work collaboratively with other faculty on integrated curriculum?	yes 100%	

However, there was some lack of understanding as to what was being proposed, as illustrated in the responses presented in the figure below.

Figure B2: Selected Spring 1994 Survey Results

SURVEY QUESTION	*RESPONSE RATE*	
#1. Do you have adequate information on the concepts of "applied academics" as a programmatic approach?	yes 57%	no 43%
#12. Do you feel you currently have the necessary information to move ahead with a school change plan?	yes 53%	no 47%

The survey results supported what appeared to be a near-unanimous sentiment, expressed here by a Social Studies teacher: " We knew that we needed to change, we were not meeting the needs of the students the way we needed to be." Another teacher talking about what effect the restructuring would have said, "It will force us to look at what we have been doing for all these years, and to be honest we cannot say we have been successful with at least half our students ... something needs to change."

The spring survey also demonstrated that while the faculty had a great deal of interest in solving their problems, their solutions were diffuse if not contradictory. The need to restructure implied a current inadequacy in the way the school was meeting the

needs of the students as well as impending changes. The survey results showed support for a number of primary concerns, as illustrated in a compilation of voluntary, open-ended responses to item 6, summarized in Figure below.

Figure C: Responses to Item #6: Do you have school improvement plans that you feel should be part of the Smith restructuring?

The following responses were given	*Number supporting response*
Would like to deal with attendance	11
Integrated curriculum and team teaching	9
Would like to address the schedule	8
Adopt Tech Prep	5
Adopt Applied Academics	4
At-risk student programs	3
Outreach to the community	3
Others	2 or less

Responses to this item related to attendance illustrate one of the many small but contentious disparities in the manner in which staff perceived the school's problems. Eleven teachers felt the attendance policy was a problem. However, they disagreed about the nature of the problem: seven suggested that there should be more regimentation of the policies, but three felt that there should be more freedom, allowing students to come and go more like at a community college. One felt the attendance policy should be done away with completely.

The various departments had different views of what the relevant "student needs" were. Different philosophical orientations, primarily divided between self-identified groups of either liberals or conservatives, had opposing views of what the basic problems were. Social factions within the school often had pre-loaded agenda for where they wanted the reforms to go.

One example of conflicting agenda involved the Applied Technology Department. This department shared the annex with the Social Studies department. The annex is a large building with about 10 classrooms and woodworking and automobile shops, next to the main school and built in the 1960s. Those in the annex are seen by the other faculty as "recalcitrant," and "off on their own." However, in many ways, the Tech Department had already been accomplishing many implied goals of the restructuring. It had been preparing students for nonuniversity, technologically oriented professions, and their curriculum was inherently "applied." But, when asked, nearly all the remaining faculty identified the members of this department as "resistant to change." And they viewed them as outsiders in the restructuring. This characterization as outsiders was shared by those in the department. Although they felt they had a great deal to offer, they saw themselves being pushed to the fringes of the restructuring planning. Several other departments shared this "outsider" view of themselves, including Physical Education and Health, Foreign Language, and those who taught the alternative courses.

The restructuring not only magnified many of the problems that had previously existed at Smith but also brought new ones. Teachers were increasingly squeezed for time, felt that their jobs were more than they were equipped for, and often felt inadequate. These problems were especially experienced by the Smith staff in this second phase, after they had

committed to the changes, but before they had learned to adjust to what the changes entailed.

When asked what the biggest problem was as a result of the new efforts, most teachers responded with "time." Integrating curricula and collaborating on new ideas take a great deal of time and energy, and the small amount of collaborative time was not enough. The time to restructure would have to come mainly from teachers' prep time, or before or after school. Teachers who needed to attend a high number of meetings that occurred during the school day began to feel like their classes were suffering. Patti Case, an English teacher, suggested that, "the way the kids know that we are trying to make changes is that folks like me are gone a lot. I have been having subs way too often, but I hope it is good for them in the long run."

Problems related to teachers' feelings of being overwhelmed were very evident. Especially in this early stage, teachers felt that they were being asked to be great teachers, leaders, policy makers, curriculum developers, and scholars all at once. As one English teacher put it:

> People are confused and afraid. I think if they knew exactly what to do they would do it, but they have been sheep for so long they do not know how to herd themselves. . . all of a sudden they are being asked to take this enormous risk, which did not need to be an enormous risk but it was perceived that way.

One math teacher shared a negative psychological by-product of being asked to teach and restructure all at once. She said, "I feel like the project just magnifies how inadequate I feel about what I am doing on some days."

While the language of the restructuring used by the administration and the university consultants was that of an emergent process, where nothing had really been decided upon pending the all-school democratic decision-making process, there was a sense that things were definitely moving in the direction of "applied courses." One Science teacher went so far as to say he could see principal Kappelman had decided on Tech Prep three years ago. This sense among the staff of the need to modify their courses to be more applied left many teachers feeling insecure. This feeling was especially evident in the teachers who were not involved in committees, and in dialogue with those who were central to the planning. This was illustrated in the comments of one female foreign language teacher. She said, "We have to do this [make our classes more applied], but no one has really sat down and explained how to do it to us, and that has been frustrating." These comments were representative of many on the staff. They were not exactly sure what was being asked of them, but they got the impression the school was going in an applied direction of some kind. And while the process was to be democratic, they felt like it was going to happen whether they liked it or not.

The vision committee, which had been the engine of the restructuring early on, was now wondering, in the words of its new chair, Meg Webster, "How do we fit?" The Site-Based Council (SBC) was now meeting and taking on the role of prioritizing and routing staff ideas. The SBC was functional on many levels. It had representatives from the community and the student body who were elected to terms of membership. It had a charter and a system of governance in which all the faculty had a channel to voice their concerns and be represented. However, the chairperson, Mark Gordon, a member of the English department, wondered out loud what the SBC was supposed to be doing, and what

kind of power it had. While the SBC was discovering its purpose, the vision committee was seeing its fading, and all committees could see that although their functions were substantive, their power was still limited, and decision making still required administrative authorization.

By late fall 1994, the efforts of the curriculum committee were solely confined to the development of the concept of career pathways and trying to get the GOLD (goals, orientation, leadership and decisions) course planned. With SBC in a crawling stage, career pathways was the centerpiece of the restructuring. This was illustrated well in a meeting during this time, attended by the administration, the university leaders, and all the committee heads. Much of the meeting was spent trying to diagram what a restructured Smith would look like as an organizational model. There were essentially two competing pictures. One was proposed mainly by the university leader Phil Stevens. In it he mapped out the committees into a schematic representative of the various staff roles and responsibilities. The other was proposed by Vice Principal Paxton, whose diagram was based on the "pathways," and where all school activity was conceived within one of the five areas. These pathways were ultimately to replace the existing departments. The question seemed to be whether the various school functions or the imminent curriculum structure would organizationally define the school.

The curriculum committee was continuing to look for examples of career pathways and ninth grade orientation courses from other schools that had successfully implemented something of the kind. This caused a dilemma. While some in this process wanted to find a good model to adopt, many felt that a model should be developed from scratch. They felt that to make it a good fit with Smith students, and stay true to the process of site-based curriculum development, the ideas should come from the staff.

The result was something of a compromise. In the early phases of the process of deciding the size and shape of the career areas, the term "career clusters" was used. This was in part forwarded by the university consultants for the purpose of helping the staff feel a sense of ownership and originality regarding the development of the career area concept. A list of pathways began broadly with as many as eight "cluster" areas. After much discussion and review of systems used by other schools, the curriculum committee decided on the term "career pathways," and a system with the following five pathways areas: Business and Marketing, Communications and Arts, Science and Nature, Health and Human Services, and Industry and Technology.

This plan was formally reflected in the goal statement of the curriculum committee. This statement was disseminated in December of 1994 in at least two staff updates, and it read:

> OUR GOAL: To serve all Smith High School Students and provide them with an education that includes academic career pathways leading to further education and competitive employment. Whatever we do, we must challenge all Smith students to learn and achieve at higher levels. We hope to have this curriculum framework in place by June 14th 1995 in order to begin the system with the 95-96 ninth grade class.

Along with the clear commitment to pathways was the intention to put in place a ninth grade orientation class. This class would provide both an orientation to the demands and experience of high school, which was seen as a basic need that had not been filled by

any previous practices, and an orientation into the pathway system. The curriculum committee members, along with Kappelman and Paxton, searched for a successful existing model to use as a guide and by the beginning of the 1994-95 school year had found one in another high school across the state.

In an all-school notice from the curriculum committee entitled "Curriculum Update" and dated November 23, 1994, the ninth grade course (later called GOLD) was proposed to the faculty. In addition, the document reiterated the previously stated goals, listed the members of the curriculum committee, and suggested five categories for career pathways. The new course was introduced in the following paragraph:

> TO GET US STARTED: 1. We recommend instituting a ninth grade orientation course in the 1995-1996 school year. We continue to receive input that incoming ninth graders are lacking in skills and direction. One answer to this problem was researched and implemented at Jefferson High School [a pseudonym of a school in a nearby large city school district]. The "Bridge" (we plan to choose our own name) class gives ninth graders a consistent base in study skills, job skills, career planning, vocational electives, and school organization. We plan to design a program for Smith ninth graders adapting it to our specific needs. Assessment in math and reading is included.

This description was followed by a proposed time line, and a survey form that asked each faculty member if he or she favored career pathways and the new ninth grade course. Much of the faculty responded to the survey, and the results were mainly affirming. Yet, although the responses were informally examined by those on the curriculum committee, they were not formally reported.

Although the formal opportunity to participate in the restructuring was provided to all the faculty through an ongoing invitation to join committees as well as the department structure, those involved during fall 1994 were a relatively small group. By late fall, most staff estimates placed about one third of the staff squarely in the process, one third willing to get involved but not yet doing so, and one third virtually disconnected from the process. This raised the question of how representative the ideas going into making all-school decisions were. At one meeting of a leadership committee, one member raised the point, "maybe the wrong people are at this table." The divergent opinions of those outside the "loop" of highly involved staff were conspicuously absent.

This leadership group itself was a curious development. Although it met frequently and dealt with the most significant decisions and issues, interestingly, it did not have a name. The site-based governance council (SBC) and the vision committee did already exist at this point, but their duties and powers were not well established. The nameless group included administrators, usually Principal Kappelman and Vice-Principal Paxton; the Project Coordinator, Tom Pope; the university professors, Phil Stevens and Don Warren; teachers Patti Case, Betty Tinder, Meg Webster, and the other committee heads. Meetings were usually initiated by an administrator, or the university professors, and arranged by the Project Director. While the other committees were just beginning to cut their teeth, this group met out of necessity and was the de facto decision making body. It was clear that the power and locus of decision making lay in this unofficial committee.

With the broader restructuring questions being dealt with in the "no-name" committee, the more specific issues continued to occupy their respective committees. These official committees such as curriculum, equity, alternative, vision, cocurricular, and

the newly developed ninth grade orientation course committee continued to meet regularly during this phase. Most of the work of these committees was being done by a few staff, who were members of the "no name" group, or closely aligned with those who were. There were many staff at this point who were tentatively involved on committees. They would either attend infrequently, or offer little input. In many ways committees were essentially forums for sharing attendees' self-interested concerns, and the agenda of the present leader. As Meg Webster noted, "That is pretty much the story of everything at Smith--you know--here's a committee, if you want to work on it fine."

A trend began to surface early. About 70 percent of the participants in these committees were female. This pattern was manifest in most phases of the early process and continued. While the principal, the vice principal, the project coordinator, and the university leaders were all male, those who were leading the restructuring efforts in the trenches were nearly all female. An illustration of this differential participation by gender manifested itself during early faculty inservice meetings, and remained consistent through the first two years of the efforts. Male teachers would sit almost exclusively in the back rows, while the females sat in the front rows. At one faculty meeting I observed that over 90 percent of those taking a back-row seat were male.

There was a growing perception that the female teachers were doing all the work related to school restructuring. For example, an ESL teacher stated, "The women often do the work, the department heads and those serving on committees are mostly women." Even one male teacher responding to a question regarding male and female roles replied, "Oh, you mean the fact that the women do all the work around here."

This pattern seemed to be consistent with that of the trend at Smith over the past few years. With few exceptions, the male faculty tended to confine their efforts to their classrooms and the athletic fields, and leave the running of the school to the females. One female English teacher commented regarding this, "The men don't do jack shit around here! That is a quote you can get in any hallway."

This pattern of female dominance was reflected in the development of the GOLD course as well. The leader of the curriculum committee, Betty Tinder, and the GOLD committee leader, Meg Webster were both female, as was the key contributor from the counseling team and most of GOLD's most involved contributors.

There had been a history of gender division among the faculty in recent years. Some ascribed this to the fact that so many of the faculty had been at Smith for 20 or more years. Some assigned the problem to the male faculty's preoccupation with sports and their overemphasis of the importance of the athletic teams. But most agreed that the staff cohesion was at a low ebb, and that gender ill-will was a main factor. A concrete representation of this division could be seen in the faculty lunchroom where day after day the men sat at one table and the women at another.

Near the end of the fall of 1994 it was becoming evident that the newness of the restructuring had begun to wear off. The sense among the staff of unlimited possibility was replaced with the reality that decisions were being made and certain staff would be involved in the development of certain programs. Many realized that "pathways" was more than an idea some of the staff discovered, it was part of the state's plan. Even Tom Pope, who was firmly included in all of the correspondence with the administration and the university

partners was not fully aware of the imminence of career pathways. Looking back on this time he would later recall:

> I know that the idea of career pathways and school-to-work and that kind of stuff is being mandated to us by the legislature. And even if people in the building don't believe in it completely we don't have a lot of choice. . . For some reason, I missed that. For some reason I didn't understand that this was legislation until [February, 1995], so all this time I have been working under the assumption that we were doing good things, and I believe that. But it feels better to me to believe that we came up with the idea and not that we were told. And I guess that has not become clear to me until recently.

The clear commitment to pathways confirmed some staff suspicion that the decision had essentially been "academic." One science teacher, who shared an office with Tom Pope, expressed a feeling of being led along. He said, "I knew long ago Kappelman was sold on pathways. . . . You've got Kappelman, the [university partners], and the district all saying we are going to these pathways . . . in an ideal site-based restructuring we would not worry about the state."

For others, the pathway direction turned them off to the restructuring. One English teacher suggested, "I am still not quite sure how I am supposed to make Shakespeare [a district content requirement] more applied. . . . All the examples of applied lessons seem so contrived." A foreign language teacher echoed these feelings, saying, "You show me how I am supposed to apply foreign languages. . . . I have asked for materials, and I have gotten nothing in my hands yet . . . . If you ask me I think I am going to get restructured right out of a job."

While many staff limited their attention to the restructuring as a result of being soured by the pathway direction, others resisted involvement due to personality and "life style" conflicts with others involved in the respective committees. One male teacher in the annex said that he would not work on a committee with a certain female teacher. In his words, "I respect her as a teacher, but I can not support what she is doing. . . . I've got friends who are lesbians, but I don't think it should come into the school." One female Alternative Program teacher, referring to that same female teacher reported that she would only be involved on a particular committee if that teacher were involved, and would not if several other teachers, whom she named, or either administrator were involved.

This Alternative Program/Special Education teacher was representative of many who felt no support from the administration and consequently felt no need to apply themselves to the restructuring any more than their contract required. She reported feeling unsupported and like a second class citizen at the school. She said:

> I feel no support from the administration and I never have, and probably never will. And that's just how special education is. I think, and I've had one of the administrators say this to me, and this is a quote, 'As far as I am concerned on a scale of one [high] and seven [low] you are a number seven'.

As a result, she reported feeling no obligation to support the restructuring. She confined herself to concentrating on her students and the other members of the Alternative Programs, and, as she put it, "staying clear of the administration."

This feeling of being a second class citizen was felt by other departments as well, in particular those outside the main building. One Physical Education teacher expressed his experience of being on the outside. He expressed the feeling that the efficacy of the reforms

would be limited not so much as a result of their merits, but as a result of the level of trust among the faculty. He stated:

> I don't think there is enough trust on the staff [to make collaborative change]. There are too many games, there are some teachers who have too much privilege and are listened to and they get all the responsibility, and others that are basically shut out of the process.

He would later suggest that he did not trust Principal Kappelman or feel that he saw what was going on in the school or the gym. He described it this way:

> [Principal Kappelman] has never been out here to see what we do. I think he is a nice man, and cares about kids, but he has absolutely no idea what makes a good PE program. If he would just walk around and take a look at what actually goes on in this school he would be much more informed, and much more respected by [the faculty].

And like many other teachers his response to feeling ignored was, as he said, " to do a great job with the kids, and not worry about the [restructuring]."

In late fall 1994, during an informal conversation, one of the university leaders was asked, given the high degree of dysfunctional behavior, should there be an attempt to "get the faculty well," before trying to "get them going" with the reforms. His response was, "If we wait to get well, we will never get anywhere."

It was becoming evident to the university facilitators that there was neither time nor resources to attempt to bring harmony to the faculty. The faculty was divided across many lines. There were deep values differences in addition to the gender divisions, and it was evident that the teachers lacked the skills or desire to become collaborative upon command. Given these problems, the university leader's approach was to continue to focus on the structural changes, such as the governance and the development of a career oriented curriculum, and allow teachers to come on board on their own initiative. On this subject the leaders agreed with Glickman (1993), whose prescription for school renewal was now being liberally applied, when he suggested that, "all participants in the process are welcome, but not all are required to take part" (p. 29). It was hoped that those who were not "on board" would see the positive results and the modeled products from those involved and would begin to join in.

Even with the energy and motivation coming primarily from the university leaders and Vice Principal Paxton at this point, much was happening by the middle of the school year. By January of 1995 many teachers had begun to collaborate on integrated courses and projects. Grants were being written by a number of faculty, a task new to most of them. New approaches were being conceived for the Alternative Programs. The SBC began to function and define its role, including the beginnings of a systematic network for staff communication.

An analogy often borrowed by many of the more involved staff to describe their feelings of doing their jobs while in the process of school change went this way: "Restructuring a school while still teaching is something like trying to change a wing on a 747 while in flight." Although, for many staff not much had changed, for those heavily involved there was a sense of urgency that pervaded their days. The lack of both time and energy was increasingly a problem.

Analysis of Phase II

During this phase, the conditions of "organized anarchy" were most pronounced. Most all staff still felt vested in the restructuring. They had a sense that much was possible, and that restructuring held a place for their ideas and concerns. However, while participants came and went on committees, the problems to be addressed by the restructuring were difficult to agree upon. Solutions would abound, but were often self-serving, and rarely compatible with one another.

Analysis of the four factors. The choice by the Smith staff to undertake restructuring would open the door for a host of new problems that had not existed before. The teachers were being asked to change what they were doing, become educated in new ways of teaching, and prepare for all-school structural changes that would directly affect their lives. Moreover, the problems that had previously existed were now being magnified. The gender and ideological divisions, the departmental separateness, and the unfamiliarity with one another were now stark and exaggerated. The intense and demanding job of teaching very needy students became even more exhausting with the added pressures and duties associated with restructuring.

While the restructuring was seen as a solution that would, in essence, make Smith "better," the cost would be very high during this first year of implementation. Hargreaves (1994) describes three debilitating conditions that are often present in schools such as Smith that are trying to restructure at the same time they are expected to carry on the daily duties of educating the students: a time crunch, a general sense of intensification of demands upon one, and a sense of guilt that one's performance is not enough. The events of the first year of restructuring at Smith clearly show these three conditions becoming magnified.

The choice of career pathways as a solution would function to define the problems. The career pathways approach makes the assumption that school should translate into clear postschool directions. Therefore, the problem being solved through the restructuring at Smith could be summarized as one teacher put it, "[The school] was not preparing the students adequately for the world of work." Competing definitions of the problem that did not prevail would then include an inadequate job preparing the students for college, as many had suggested; or inadequately providing them with the cultural capital and life skills they had insufficiently received at home, that would enable them to engage in the kind of learning that many students in the neighboring schools experienced. Many teachers did not feel that what the students needed was a more practical and applied education, nor that collaboration with others, or a more democratic form of school governance would lead to these outcomes, but career pathways and an applied focus would, from this point on, frame Smith's problems to be addressed for change.

Patterns of participation. This definition of the problems and their corresponding solutions would result in a defined pattern of staff attention (i.e., participation) to the decision process. This causality can, in part, explain why the participation at this point was defined by three relatively equal sized groups, one that was heavily involved and supportive, one that was supportive but uninvolved, and one that was neither supportive nor desired involvement.

Those whose solutions and/or problem definitions were not chosen came to feel that their agenda had essentially lost. This could best be seen in a group of teachers who had been very involved in the planning for and promotion of the restructuring, but had now dropped out of the process.

Another factor affecting staff involvement caused by the choice of career pathways was the "place" of the teacher and/or department in the development of the new curricular directions. Many departments' teachers felt like they just did not fit. Members of the Foreign Language Department felt like the choice was a direct rejection of their value. They had a hard time seeing the applied nature of their courses. In addition, foreign language courses were seen as part of college preparatory training. With the emphasis on technical skills, and the implicit message that the school was in many respects, they felt, "giving up on the idea that its students were going to college," there seemed to be a devaluing of foreign language, as well as some of the liberal arts and humanities courses.

Teachers in departments such as Physical Education, Home and Family Living, the Alternative Program, Music, and even some in Math, did not feel as though they had a place in the new structure. This feeling of being outsiders to the process was exacerbated even further by these departments' perception that no one had formally invited them to be involved.

However, this lack of fit cannot explain why the Applied Technology Department saw themselves, and were seen by others, as "outsiders" to the process, and "resistant" to change. The teachers in this department should have been centrally involved given that the primary problem being addressed by the curriculum restructuring fit their solutions. However, two other factors help explain this group's resistance to the process. First, the Applied Technology (AT) Department dealt with very concrete and practical matters such as industrial arts, woodworking, auto mechanics, and things of this nature. Research into personality suggests that the cognitive temperament of those in this field is more concrete and practical (Briggs-Myers, 1992; Morphord, 1991). This was confirmed at Smith with an informal survey during interviews with the AT Department teachers. More concrete types have been shown to be less interested in curriculum change and restructuring (Glickman, 1984; Morphord, 1991).

Second, those in the AT Department were not in the "loop." They were far away from the main building logistically and socially. Where those in the loop were mostly female, nearly all of the AT department members were males. Moreover, where most in the loop tended to have more liberal and idealistic views of education, those in the AT department were conservative politically, and were self-described "realists."

Phase III: Spring 1995

During spring, 1995, the projects that had begun in the fall were developing at a rate that made Smith the envy of many of the schools in the district which were now attempting similar reforms. Teachers began to dream and looked to the administration and the university partners to provide ideas and opportunities. But as the ideas began to grow, a scarcity of venues for all the proposed projects developed. Not every idea could receive priority treatment. Not every idea could be funded. Not every idea could be coordinated into the schedule. This over-supply required choices to be made. Many could feel their

ideas shrinking in importance, while others, most notably GOLD, were being made a priority.

By spring, 1995, GOLD course implementation had become a practical reality. While many Smith faculty were only vaguely aware of its purpose or imminence, Betty Tinder along with Vice Principal Paxton and often Principal Kappelman were presenting the course concept in detail to members of other schools and the community.

This conception included the GOLD course as the first phase of each Smith student's four year sequence through career pathways. This meant it would need to be a required course for all freshmen, and as a result require authorization by the district before it could be adopted. It was too late in the year to get authorization from the district for a new required course, but waiting would mean that implementing the restructured curriculum program would be delayed an entire year. The curriculum committee had hoped to implement the tenth grade portion of the program by then. In response to the district's denial of a course variance, Mr. Paxton created a course registration form implying that all freshmen would need to take the course. This unilateral action virtually assured that GOLD would be in place for the 1995-96 school year, to be taken by all freshmen.

Previously most ninth graders had two slots open in their schedules that could be used to take elective courses. Another ninth grade requirement in the fall meant that the elective courses would now be competing with each other for, in most cases, one period in the students' schedule. The Foreign Language and Applied Technology departments would be the most impacted. These departments were self-described as "not big fans" of the principal nor of each other to begin with. Not only were these departments competing for the final spot on the freshman schedule, which meant fewer sections and fewer teachers needed, but the effect rippled through both programs. Many courses in each department began a progressive sequence in the freshman year. In the case of foreign language, the requirement for college could be three years. If students did not sign up as freshmen they could not meet that requirement. Neither group was happy, but the Applied Tech faculty may have been more adversely affected due to covert counselor endorsement of the foreign language courses over the tech courses. There were assurances that no jobs would be lost, but there could be no assurance that teachers would not lose sections and be forced to teach other less desirable courses.

In a series of five half-day planning meetings beginning in late January, the GOLD course content and sequence were planned by a diverse group of teachers, counselors, parents, and administrators. The group of 17 participants included representatives from each department, middle school teachers and parents of Smith students. As one participant described, "It was just a bunch of people who wanted to work on the GOLD thing."

As a result of the planning, the course was conceived as a panacea of services and content that would take care of the needs of incoming freshmen on many levels. GOLD would prepare students with life skills, study skills, computer skills, self-esteem development, orientation to the school and its programs, as well as helping students choose a pathway direction to guide their next three years. As one participant put it, "When each person got their piece in it they were happy."

The project was then handed over to a team of teachers led by Meg Webster. The selection of Webster as the leader of the GOLD teacher team was typical of the selection process at Smith. One GOLD teacher commenting on how Webster became the leader put

it this way: "Well she kind of stepped right into it--that is just how she is on committees and gets her nose wet so to speak." When asked how she came to be the leader Webster responded, "Oh, I sort of got *roped* into it [the second time of several times she had used that term during the interview]. They needed someone, and I said yes all right."

The eight GOLD teachers were selected by Mr. Paxton for their popularity with existing ninth graders. But only Ms. Webster had been included in the course planning. The vision of the course design seemed to assume the GOLD teachers would be able to diagnose psychological and social problems, give career counseling, and make the students feel proud to be attending Smith, yet when confronted by this list of objectives, most of the GOLD teacher team did not seem comfortable with all that was asked of them. Furthermore, the GOLD course would require an additional preparation over and above the regular set of classes they were teaching.

The more the teachers began to turn the vision into a series of activities to be uniformly taught, the more the global vision of the creators took on a fragmented and even trivial flavor, in the view of some. The response by one counselor to this alteration was visible sadness. She had been integral in creating the vision of the course, and while attending a GOLD teacher planning meeting, witnessed the course lose its original vision. As she watched the planners conception of an integrated, community-building "wonder course" become translated into a set of disconnected daily activities that seemed to be missing the point, she became so frustrated she had to leave. This reinterpretation of the course began to alienate the other counselors as well.

By late spring the attention to the restructuring had become almost exclusively the realm of those in the "loop." The size of the membership of the loop was somewhere around 20 persons by most accounts. Those in the loop were doing multiple restructuring duties, and those outside were becoming increasingly disconnected from the efforts.

An election was held in late spring for a new Project Coordinator. The candidates were three of the original instigators of the restructuring and original members of the vision committee. The eventual winner was English teacher Patti Case. Both before and after the election faculty continued to express strong feelings about the prospect of having Ms. Case as an authorized leader. She was both controversial and seen as overly partial to the feelings of Principal Kappelman. One of the candidates not chosen described Ms. Case's relationship with Principal Kappelman this way (in response to the question regarding whom Principal Kappelman was aligned with): "He is aligned with Patti Case, and that is the beginning and the end of it." This result essentially guaranteed that those involved in the restructuring would be aligned with the wishes of Principal Kappelman, while those in the divergent camps would be screened out or have little incentive to attempt involvement in the loop. Given the advanced nature of the activities within the restructuring group, those outside it at this point had a deficit of information that was becoming insurmountable, if they ever hoped to take on a front line position in the restructuring.

A survey was given by the administration in March to determine the staff's desires regarding the coming year. The results were mainly supportive. Of over 70 teachers, 49 responded. It is unknown whether the large percentage of nonrespondents were abdicating their attention to the efforts, or merely forgot to return their forms. Of those responding, the majority felt that the effort to make the curriculum more applied should be continued,

the coordinator position should be funded again, and the university partners should be retained.

As the first year came to an end, two themes seemed to resonate among the staff regarding the overall restructuring. First, aside from some occasional efforts on the part of groups of teachers to collaborate, the changes had not really affected the students as yet. When the students were asked what was going on, they were aware that a couple of their teachers were gone more often, but were not aware of the changes being planned. Second, after the initial shock of having to be more collaborative, relationships began to stabilize. One teacher compared it to "starting a new relationship." If Phase I was characterized by a "set-up date," Phase II could best be characterized by various break-ups and marriages. And by the end of the first year, most teachers had developed a relatively stable role in the restructuring and the organizational decision-making activity.

Analysis of Phase III

Using the garbage can analogy, in the early stages of the restructuring small garbage cans of activity emptied into one large container that produced the decision to undertake an all-school reform. In Phase II, most of the containers were smaller in both size and scope. The GOLD planning provided yet another opportunity to take part in a large garbage can decision-making condition, and a forum for agenda, problems and solutions coming from a wide range of participants. Along with the other two major choice opportunities, the election of a new project coordinator, and the vote regarding whether to continue the restructuring, GOLD development would be the dominant factor in the decision-making activity in this stage of the process.

Analysis of the four factors. On a smaller scale, the GOLD course development process paralleled the broader restructuring process, acting as a substantive choice opportunity condition. Where many had thought they could no longer get their agenda sufficiently included in the all-school curriculum plans, they had hoped that their agenda would find a home in the GOLD course.

The choice opportunity involving the selection of the second year Project Coordinator caused a further clarification of the existing alignment related to those in and out of the "loop." Where Patti Case had been a confidante and buffer to Principal Kappelman, she was now positioned to act in that role in an official capacity. In the internal staff battle drawn on lines of gender and values, she had been the key figure associated with the liberal-female side. Her election could be seen as a political victory for this contingent, and a loss for the conservative males. In addition, with Case as the coordinator of the project, she would control the dissemination of the state money and school resources to a great extent. This choice would seem to ensure the power and the participation dominance of those in alignment with the silent but strong will of Principal Kappelman.

The call to teachers at the beginning of the year to "join up," get involved, collaborate, and integrate had essentially worked. Beyond the "loop" who had firm control of the steering wheel of the restructuring, there were a good number of others who had come up with ideas. But with each of these new solutions would come a series of problems. Many required scheduling allowances. In some cases these scheduling problems would compete, requiring Vice Principal Paxton to make a choice. Most new solutions

required resources in the form of release time, money, and supplies. The problem of scarce resources was magnified as a result. This scarcity further acted to tighten the "loop," and clarify the lines between "insiders" and "outsiders." When someone was needed to attend a conference or chair a committee, it was sensible that that person should be someone with experience in that area. As a result those with experience gained more and those without remained in a passive role.

Phase IV: The Second Year of Restructuring (Fall 1995-Spring 1996)

The summer of 1995 seemed very short to those who had spent it expending a lot of time and energy in and around the restructuring efforts. Many had been planning, some had gone to conferences, and others had geared up for a new year, coming off a great deal of momentum from the previous one. As one teacher put it, "It seems like we didn't even have a summer."

It took many teachers a year to get accustomed to having the restructuring as part of their jobs. As one teacher suggested, "The first year we were just figuring out what restructuring meant." By the second year, most teachers understood the meaning of restructuring and SBG, yet some were still unsure. Moreover, many teachers began the year with no plans to get involved. In an interview with the chair of the SBC, this diversity was evident.

> *Teacher*: You understand a lot of things in hindsight, and a lot of us did not have the foresight to see what was going to happen. And I think we still don't. I don't think we know what restructuring really means yet.
>
> *Interviewer*: Does the staff understand what site-based governance means?
>
> *Teacher*: Some do. Some are supporting it. Some are flexible. Some are resistant. Some don't care. Some are antagonistic. Just like people in anything.

At the beginning of the year, GOLD was in place with eight teachers and 17 separate sections. The course included all but about 10 percent of the ninth graders in the school. While the GOLD teachers frantically tried to stay one step ahead while planning and teaching a brand new course, the curriculum committee was already turning its attention to incorporating career pathways into the tenth grade year.

While the initial implementation of GOLD went relatively smoothly, soon after the start of the year problems began to occur. Some teachers were encouraging students to transfer out because they felt the course appeared too trivial and a waste of a precious period. As one GOLD teacher confessed, "Some of the honors teachers thought it was a waste of time at the start of the year and that put a damper on things." Some suggested the time would be better spent in their own courses. The counselors, who had originally been foundational in the conception of the course, were now, as one counselor put it, "Washing their hands of it." They did not like where it was going, did not like Meg Webster's approach, and felt they were not being incorporated in a satisfactorily meaningful manner.

In one case, a counselor who had been on leave the previous year was scheduled to make a presentation on his specialty area of anger management. He expected to be given a couple of days to cover his material, and to be scheduled at a point in the semester where the students would have some context for his topic. Instead, he was given 15 minutes at the end of one period where the students had previously been involved in one of the many

game-like activities that typified the course. He was so upset by this treatment that he vowed never to return.

The perception of GOLD did improve, in part due to the evolution of the course. The GOLD teachers began to work more progressively toward a cooperative leadership structure. Meg Webster missed several days in the middle of the semester for personal reasons, and as a result the group developed increasingly more cohesion. It was clear to the GOLD teacher team that Webster was not effective as the leader of this effort. As one GOLD teacher suggested, "Both the GOLD teachers and other teachers in the school [felt that Webster was not being effective]. Some of her classes were not going well in part because she was gone so many days--her sixth period class was going off the wall." Two more visionary members of the group began to act as facilitators in Ms. Webster's absence, and the image of GOLD improved among the staff, including the counselors. In the words of one GOLD teacher, "We began to work as a team, there really was no leader." Another stated, "We really worked well together, it was just a cooperative effort."

In this second year, the gap of knowledge and access between those in the "loop" and the rest of the faculty continued. Many of those in the loop had attended conferences in the summer and early fall. This education and access in the decision process put them in a position where they knew more about the topic, and, consequently, when it came time to send someone to the next conference they were the logical persons. This dynamic was best articulated by the Staff Development Coordinator, who saw himself outside of this loop. In an interview in November, 1995, he put it this way, describing Smith to a hypothetical person who had been away for a year:

> And I find that--a term I hate to say--there are people who are in the loop in the school. That is something that I would tell [a person who had been away]. Anyway, if you came back you are either in the loop or you are not. If you are in the loop you get to go to conferences, you get to have reduced days, you get to have a number of different kinds of things simply because you have been trained or have gotten some knowledge--and that knowledge tends to build on itself. Then you get to be one of the credible people, one of the more expert people in an area, and as a result every time the impetus is moving in that direction your information, knowledge, background, whatever you have seen or done [makes you the best candidate to address it again]. What I have seen is an in-loop group of about 20 people.

There were clearly some teachers who enjoyed the restructuring activities and others who saw them as a burden. The teachers who saw the restructuring activities as a burden often reported having something more important to do. They were often coaching, or had other interests outside the school, were outside the "loop," and in nearly every case did not report any satisfaction from the restructuring part of their jobs. One Applied Technology teacher described his feelings this way: "If they want to do all this [restructuring]--look at this chart [holding up a complex map of the new organizational framework]--they can and all the power to them, but I'm not against it, I just don't know how I could help. . . . I just want to teach my classes and let the rest of them restructure."

In contrast, there were many teachers who enjoyed the activity of restructuring. They described it as a collegial and substantive activity that they had not experienced in the teaching of their classes. In most cases, these teachers were in the main building and taught the academic subjects.

During first year interviews, when Smith teachers were asked what traits characterized teachers who were highly involved in the restructuring, they used descriptors such as "likes change," "can deal with uncertainty," "likes to communicate," "is flexible." Patti Case, the new Project Coordinator in 1995-96, and member of the English department, embodied many of these characteristics. She admitted that the rewards experienced by her and a group of teachers on a committee involving the arts went beyond a sense of accomplishment toward school goals. She saw it as very personally gratifying. She said, "I just love this [collegial discourse], we have never had this." Moreover, she responded to a question regarding how this committee's efforts applied to the restructuring with the statement, "No I don't think it [our work in this group] is always connected to the school. People are beginning to talk about what fun it is to work together." Ms. Case still professed a deep commitment to her students, but the restructuring process provided a different type of job satisfaction. She had, at this point, become very involved in sharing her knowledge and wisdom relating to school reforms with teachers from other schools, at a number of conferences and gatherings.

In October, the administration, realizing that there was still much confusion among the staff as to what the organizational framework and lines of staff communication were, decided to take the opportunity of an all-school inservice to educate the faculty. In order to accomplish this they had to hastily determine what these frameworks were. Two days before the in-service they attempted to clarify these models in a planning meeting. The meeting was called by Ms. Case and was attended by the invited "players." The meeting again had no official name, but included all the "players," and was not questioned by the faculty. As with all meetings of this kind SLIG, grant dollars would be used for the necessary substitute teachers. The meeting was successful in communicating the organizational patterns and structures, yet did little to inspire staff involvement. At this meeting many teachers took the opportunity to exit early between the large all-group session and the smaller, but still mandatory, break-out sessions.

During the first year, most teachers were working on the broad projects such as SBG and GOLD. In this second year, more teachers were working on relatively small but substantive projects. One group planned a spring semester service learning project that required the coordination of three teachers along with three blocks of students. Another group worked on a project involving a national humanities organization. Both projects involved grant funding. Grant activity was becoming common, whereas it was unheard of before the restructuring and the involvement of the university partners.

The Alternative Committee members were now actively planning for a better approach to serving the needs of the alternative and special needs students. A survey during this time found that about 40 percent of Smith students could be classified as "at-risk" or "special needs." The Alternative teachers and one administrator who had a vested interest in at-risk students were being assisted by university leader Phil Stevens, who specializes in the area of at-risk prevention and program development. The administrator involved was Mr. Archer, an assistant principal, who, in his own words, "really didn't care for teachers, or the faculty as a group." He did enjoy working with the Alternative students and faculty, and confined his attentions to them.

While many teachers were planning ways to work together on various projects, and the committees remained robust, those in the annex and the gymnasium had at this point

moved beyond the feeling that they needed to find a way to contribute to the restructuring, a feeling many of them had had the previous year. They paid progressively less attention to what did not directly affect them.

Tom Pope, the former Project Coordinator, was asked if the process would get any easier as time went on. He responded, "Well we haven't had any other real biggies yet [apart from the SBG and GOLD]. I mean the next biggy is seeing how people fit into career pathways. And the mentality of shifting between being part of a department to being part of a pathway [on the part of the teachers]." His thoughts were shared by many others in leadership. It seemed necessary to the future of career pathways that the department head structure would need to be abandoned in favor of a pathway leader structure. This was already beginning to cause some anxiety to those who would be directly impacted. Department Heads currently were given a stipend for the job. Many of these persons were near the point of retirement, and their retirement funds would be a percentage of their final year's salary, including the department head stipend. This created a dilemma. Even if the present department heads were to become pathway coordinators, not all could be included, as the existing 10 departments would be rearranged into only five pathways.

As the first year of GOLD came to a close, it was considered by most a qualified success. An outsider's assessment of the GOLD course suggested that much was to be commended, while it needed both cosmetic and structural changes. The staff expressed a wide range of feelings about the course. Some felt it was mostly useless, some felt it was wonderful, and most saw many positives, but hoped it would be refined and improved according to their suggestions. The assessment found that the key variable in the students' experience of GOLD was the faculty member who taught their section. For some students the course seemed like a waste of time, and for others it was a valuable experience. Post-semester data showed a great variance of student course evaluation ratings across teachers.

Overall, the course improved over the period of the semester as the teachers began to address the criticisms regarding its "trivial" nature in the beginning. Also, the team was more open to the practice of integrating course concepts and incorporating other staff, such as the counselors. These developments occurred in part as a result of the emergence of the new wave of leadership, who possessed a more holistic perspective, and the team development of the group of GOLD teachers.

In terms of the broader restructuring, by the end of its second fall semester, most of the curriculum directions had been set, and most teachers had found their place in or out of the restructuring circles. And after about a year, site-based governance had begun to work. According to the SBC chair, Mr. Gordon, it was becoming a relatively effective mechanism for moving information and concerns between individuals and the site-based counsel. Gordon was unclear how much power the group had to make key decisions, or would ever have, but he saw its role as a feedback and feed-in device as evidence of its usefulness and validity.

It was observed by many that so far the efforts seemed to have momentum independent of Principal Kappelman and to some extent Vice Principal Paxton. The stress of the restructuring seemed to be worn permanently on both of their faces. Paxton was now telling most of the faculty who were coming to him with ideas that required some scheduling arrangement that he was not able to accommodate them. Many expressed surprise at the hostile manner in which their requests were received. The many activities

spawned by the encouragement teachers had received to get involved had become a serious administrative inconvenience.

Mr. Kappelman became more and more invisible. His one source of contact with the faculty seemed to be Patti Case, which often placed her in the middle of conflict, where she became the target of staff frustration with Kappelman. He often missed critical planning meetings. He elected in one case to attend a local charity function at the last minute, which caused him to miss a pivotal all-school inservice. Faculty felt the absence as quite inappropriate, but, in most cases, were not surprised by Kappelman's nonattendance.

The university leaders were debating whether to return, due to other commitments the following year that would limit their involvement. They wondered, given the present leadership, what would happen to the reform efforts at Smith if they were not involved. But as Phil Stevens suggested, "Things seem to be happening in spite of the administration."

Analysis of Phase IV

During this second year the participation patterns became more stable and less fluid This was best illustrated in the stabilization of the "loop" and the withdrawal of many of the staff from the efforts altogether. There were no large garbage cans of decision making like GOLD or the broader restructuring of the year before. This resulted in a lessening of the quantity of problem activity and the degree of decision difficulty. While big problems still existed, there were fewer of them on the table. Most problems that were being addressed were intermediate sized and involved a stable participant base. This enabled the condition for resolution in many cases.

This was the case with the GOLD course development, although the course as a solution created a series of problems school-wide. The most notable problem was that there was now only one elective spot for ninth graders. This created a fierce competition between the departments that offered mostly electives, such as Applied Technology and Foreign Language.

Yet, the high level of ambiguity that characterized the early development of GOLD was much less apparent as the course developed. As problems were discovered and/or manufactured, solutions of some sort usually followed. A good example of this was the potentially disastrous first month of GOLD. Students were dropping the course, other teachers had a low level of respect for what was going on, and important collaborators such as the counselors were becoming disillusioned with the course and their role in it. But the teacher team began to address these problems. One of their solutions seemed to be to admit that Ms. Webster was not an effective leader, and to take the control away from her. This was a response in part to her decision style, which often took the form of "flight" leading to an unsatisfactory degree of resolution for the other members of the group.

The problems surrounding GOLD could be considered important yet not insurmountable. They received not only the constant attention and priority of Vice Principal Paxton, but the attention of those who were responsible to teach it. Even though the problem activity was high at the beginning of the semester, the stable attention, progressively clearer goals, and improving technology over the course of the semester produced an environment that was increasingly effective. This effectiveness included a cooperative leadership pattern that promoted the resolution of both emergent and latent problems.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Study Conclusions

The eight conclusions of this study are:

1. The restructuring at Smith High was characterized by the qualities of "organized anarchy."
2. The garbage can decision-making factors--problems, solutions, participation and choice opportunities--were interdependent and potentiated one another.
3. Each of the four decision-making factors needed to be sufficiently present for a decision to be made.
4. The frequency of decision-making activity in a restructuring condition increased quickly in the early stages of the process. Furthermore, choices made during the peak of "decision load" tended to define the remainder of the process.
5. Leadership behavior was a mitigating variable in the process and acted to reduce or exacerbate the qualities of "organized anarchy."
6. The attractiveness of the context of the restructuring situation affected the level and composition of the participation.
7. The nature and the composition of the participation changed depending on the timing of the involvement.
8. Participants had differing purposes for attending to the process.

School Restructuring as a Garbage Can Condition

It can be seen from the data presentation and analysis that the "garbage can" metaphor appropriately characterizes the decision activity within the restructuring process at Smith High School. Each of the various domains of the restructuring acted as a type of container collecting various participants, solutions, and problems, representing various interests, needs and agenda. The garbage can metaphor appropriately characterizes these containers, which often took the form of committees, inasmuch as they collect these factors in varying amounts. Commonly, membership within any committee depended primarily on a particular teacher's desire to take part. Committee membership and leadership changed frequently. Moreover, as hypothesized within the garbage can theory, committee time was often an occasion for the furthering of members' personal and political agenda as well as attending to the prescribed task.

Overall, the restructuring was characterized by qualities of "organized anarchy" (March & Olsen, 1976). As described previously, an organized anarchy is characterized by undefined goals of the endeavor, ambiguous existent technology, and fluid and unpredictable involvement by participants. This "organized anarchy" condition was predictable given the nature of the reorganization process. Contributing to the organizational ambiguity within the restructuring was the staff's choice to attempt a move away from a governance structure defined by a set hierarchy and distinct duties (specialized) to a site-based or democratic form (unsegmented). Previously, teachers had been accustomed to doing their jobs as they saw fit and leaving the governance decisions up to the administration. The decision to adopt site-based governance (SBG) required new roles and relationships and the need to work collaboratively. In addition, the adoption of SBG

meant that defining problems and developing solutions would now be open to a larger number of contributors, making consensus more difficult. Participation in most decision situations became the domain of any and all who were so inclined.

The particular situation or "garbage can" of the GOLD committee and the development of the new ninth grade orientation course, readily illustrate these "garbage can" conditions. First, the objectives for the ninth grade orientation (GOLD) course reflected the goal ambiguity of the restructuring as a whole. Similar to the decision to restructure, where there was consensus on the need to change, but a lack of agreement on a direction, those enlisted with the task of reforming the curriculum had a clear mission to improve the Smith course structure, but the technology to accomplish this was contentious and unclear. Second the processes of developing GOLD would require technology that did not presently exist at Smith. There was a vague sense of what an orientation course should contain, but there was no prototype curriculum that perfectly suited the Smith freshmen, and the mechanism for facilitating the design of such a course was unclear. Third, the decision making processes that led to the development of GOLD involved the fluid participation of an ever-shifting, diverse, and loosely connected collection of parties. As was the case with most committees, the early membership of the curriculum committee was those who attended out of choice, had no special qualifications, and had no long-term commitment to the committee's future.

Interdependence of Decision-Making Factors

Examining the events in terms of the interplay of the four decision making factors--problems, solutions, participation and choice opportunities--helps explain both the patterns and outcomes of the restructuring. Variation in any of the separate factors altered the qualities of the other three factors. This interplay is clearly illustrated in the data presentation and analysis.

The large-scale choice opportunity of restructuring created an increase in problem activity, and as a result an increased demand on decision production. The increasing number of decisions required both solutions and participation. For example, given the choice to adopt a more applied approach, a new curriculum would be necessary and would require staff to work together in its development. The increased access to participation in the decision-making process created a corresponding increase in problem activity. This interaction could be seen in the increased number of cases involving teachers who, being encouraged to come to the table, would present ideas to a committee for new courses or staff development. Very few of the ideas were compatible and the volume alone would ensure that the ideas could not all be accommodated into the limited system. Potential solutions that emerged created problems as well. This was illustrated best perhaps in the conflict created by the creation of GOLD. The course, designed to solve the ninth graders orientation problem, created a competition between departments for ninth grade elective spots, and a generally limited scheduling capacity.

The four decision factors were not only interdependent, but also tended to propagate one another in the absence of a decision. Problems unresolved encouraged unpredictable participation with participants bearing mixed agenda and often competing solutions. Choice opportunities came and went, stirring up both solutions and participation.

This proliferation raised what March and Olsen (1976) refer to as the problem activity and consequently the decision load.

Presence of Four Factors to Produce a Decision

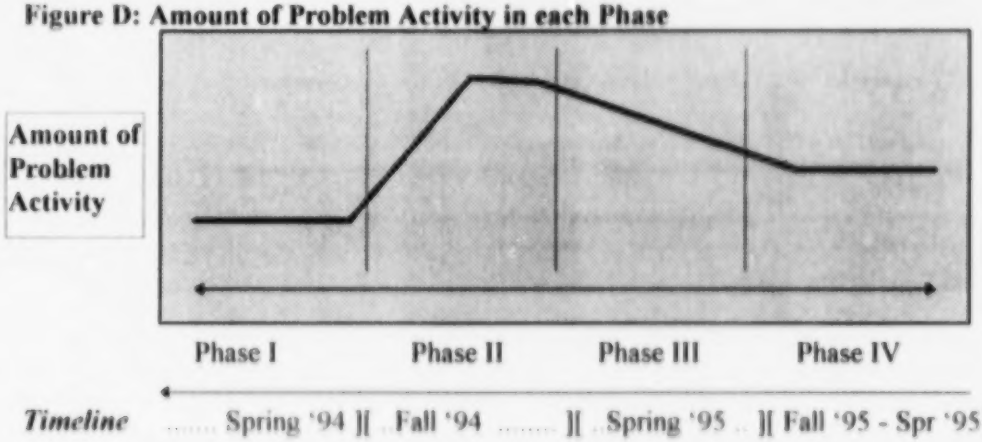
March and Olsen (1976) suggest that for a decision to be made in any particular arena, the four factors--problems, solutions, participation, choice opportunities--must each be sufficiently present. If one or more factors is absent, the garbage can activity will produce no result that can be called a decision. Two such situations that possessed sufficient amounts of each factor were the overall decision to restructure, and the development of GOLD. In each case, the choice opportunity was sufficiently manifest, the problem to be addressed was relatively apparent, participation was plentiful, and varying solutions were generated. Other garbage can situations which could be said to have produced no such decision included the alternative program, the schedule, instructional improvements, staff development and relations, and the attendance policy. In these cases, one or more of the factors was insufficiently present.

Frequency of Garbage Can Activity in Each Phase

There is often the perception among faculties preparing to undertake restructuring that the changes will bring progressive resolution to their problems. Data from this study suggest that this is unlikely to be true.

As the Smith staff collectively began to move toward decisions regarding how to restructure their school, there was a marked and progressive increase in the frequency of problem activity. This is represented in Figure D, which depicts the amount of problem activity during the four data analysis phases of the study. While there was no actual numeric calculation of problem incidence attempted in the study, analysis of the data suggest problem frequency approximated this pattern.

Figure D: Amount of Problem Activity in each Phase



The above chart depicts the height of the problem activity in Phase II of the restructuring. This elevation resulted, in part, from the activation of latent problems that had preexisted, such as the departmentalism and social division among the faculty, and from a set of new problems that resulted from new sources, such as the lack of knowledge by

many staff about how to make their courses more applied, and the competition that arose from the inability to accommodate all the newly developed integrated curriculum proposals into the existing master schedule. Problems were further proliferated by the increased manifestation of the other factors in the process, as described earlier.

Two conclusions are suggested regarding the peak of the curve. First, the peak of the problem activity creates a decision load that is uncomfortable to the system if not unbearable. As March and Olsen (1976) suggest, this creates an environment where decisions are more often a result of flight and oversight than resolution. This was manifested, in part, in anxiety and frustration which led to decision avoidance and a regular look of consternation worn on Principal Kappelman's and Vice Principal Paxton's faces. In this peak period, the problems that could be considered the most important were not directly dealt with. Principal Kappelman appeared to make no decisions, while Vice Principal Paxton turned his attention to the manageably-sized problem of specific curriculum projects.

A second conclusion may be drawn by examining the decisions that were made in the period of greatest problem activity. The decisions made during this time, no matter their quality, would have a lasting impact. There seems to be a window of time during this peak frequency that in many ways defines the remainder of the process. As will be discussed later under implications, the participant attention was most receptive at this point. After decisions were made there were losing agenda, waning interests, and a decreased sense of obligation. This was illustrated at Smith in the shrinking of the pool of attendees (e.g., the creation of the "loop"). Both the decisions at this peak point and the participants who had been involved in making them remained in the process, as others were forced to seek other avenues. At Smith this took the form of the restructuring being redefined and reduced to an adoption of a curriculum concept characterized by career pathways with a freshman GOLD course, and the shrinking number in the loop of active participants. The other problems, solutions, and participants that were present during this peak time were destined to become comparatively less significant.

Leadership as a Variable in the Process

Leadership has been shown to be a critical link in the change process in educational reform (Deal, 1990; Glickman, 1985; Lieberman, 1995; Newmann, Rutter & Smith, Parkay, Shindler, Oaks & Gmelch, 1995). Leadership seems to have been a significant variable in the decision-making activity and its eventual outcomes at Smith High School. The findings of this study seem to support research that certain types of leadership behaviors can affect the level of ambiguity and inefficiency in a restructuring condition (Fullan, 1993; March & Olsen, 1976; Weindeling, 1995).

To aid in this discussion, it is useful to incorporate March and Olsen's (1976) three conditions of involvement in situations when organizational members with diverse skills, distinct roles, and a wide range of values approach a broad common effort. They suggest there are three questions that are asked. First, to what extent do the actions of one individual or group affect the values of others? In effect, the organizational member asks, what do others have to do with my job, and why should I care what they do? This question gets at issues of linkage and interdependencies. Second, to what extent are competencies distributed uniformly among individuals? In other words, are the best people in the right

decision situation or responsible for solutions for which they are competent? Third, to what extent are values homogeneous across individuals, thus producing organizational "intention?" This question includes issues of trust of others in the decision-making process to promote values and outcomes that are consistent with one's own values.

In regard to the first question, a leader can take the role of delegating tasks so that all do not have to feel like they must be included in the entire process. Here leaders take the responsibility of prioritizing involvement. Restructuring at Smith predictably created an unsegmented attention structure early and often in the process. The staff felt as though they needed to know about and be involved in every matter in the process. This resulted in the involvement of too many staff in trivial matters early in the process, followed by many participants reprioritizing the restructuring to such a low level that they were not around for some important meetings. A leader or group of leaders who had contact with the faculty and could communicate a sense of priority could have greatly reduced the apathy regarding restructuring events that had grown significantly by Phase III.

In regard to the second question related to distribution of competencies, an involved leader could have taken an active role in the process of selecting committee chairs. At Smith, the ineffective chair selection process became a concern of the university partners. They felt that to facilitate an effective process, care should be taken to put the right person in charge of the right situation. As was the case with the Principal, in the smaller committees the lack of trusting, liking, or understanding the views of the leader often eroded the faith in the process. This was most notably the case with Ms. Webster and GOLD. A more effective leader in charge of the early development of GOLD could have reduced the lack of vision for the course and the conflict with contributors, and utilized the skills of the other members of the team more effectively.

With regard to the third question on homogeneity of values, a leader who articulated a shared vision and common set of values perhaps could mitigate some of the sense of competing values and fear of cooperation, and bring a greater sense of unified intention to the effort. At Smith the values were very divergent on many fronts, yet the values were also in many ways common. Everyone wanted the students to succeed, and almost all reported a willingness to make sacrifices to bring this about. Fullan (1993) suggests that when the leader articulates the message of a shared communal vision the faculty becomes closer and more unified in purpose. This unification never materialized at Smith.

The question of vision was reflected in the words of some of the GOLD teachers. Asked what Ms. Webster was lacking, many referred to it as a "lack of vision." This lack of vision was manifest in her inability to see how all the members of the team could contribute to conceiving a picture of "a successful course" that could guide team action.
When asked what the two GOLD teachers, who at mid-semester took the leadership role in the course had, others said it was "vision." Interestingly, the picture of these two was described at the same time as "collaborative" and "team oriented."

Morphord and Willing (1991) found that, in many cases, those who had been effective in leadership roles in educational reform efforts were typed as Intuitive/Thinkers (NT's) or "visionaries." Neither Principal Kappelman, Vice Principal Paxton, nor Ms. Webster exhibited this temperament type, while at least one of the emergent GOLD leaders did. This suggests that the level of "organized anarchy" conditions can be partially

dependent on the temperaments of individuals within the process as well as the nature of the organizational conditions.

Variables Affecting Patterns of Teacher Involvement in Restructuring

The patterns of teacher involvement in the restructuring process at Smith can be understood within the framework of the garbage can model as well as other research in this area. In situations where great transition is occurring, March and Olsen (1976) observed:

> The distribution of attention is particularly problematic under conditions of ambiguity and when traditional norms are predominantly egalitarian. Such conditions lead to relatively unsegmented, permissive attention structures. The constraints on attention do not much limit the distribution. (p.44)

Teacher participation in Smith's restructuring will be examined in relation to three domains: context, timing and purpose. Each of these factors seemed to be a separate but defining variable in determining the patterns of participation within the restructuring.

Participation as a function of context factors. As March and Olsen (1976) suggest, "attention [to any organizational activity by members of the organization] is a scarce resource; not everyone can attend to everything all the time"(p. 45). Members must make choices about where they place their time and energy. This scarcity becomes even more pronounced in larger organizations such as Smith High where the sense of responsibility can be diffused. With so great a number of teachers, no one teacher feels that the organizational outcomes are dependent on his or her actions.

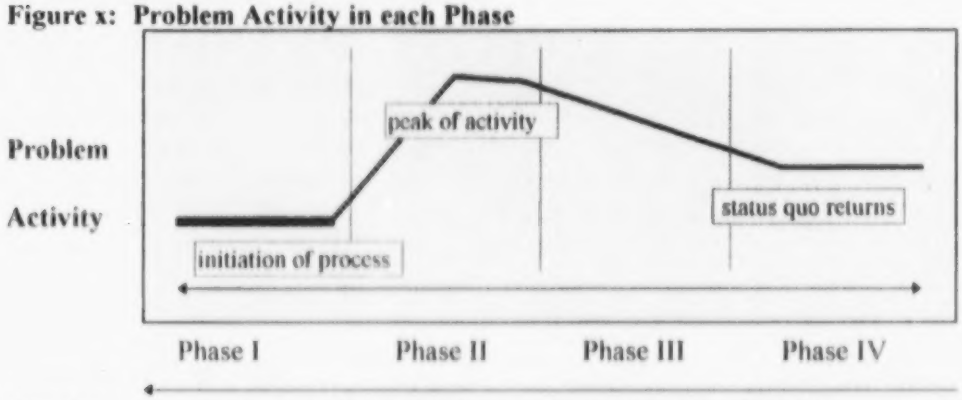
Given the size of Smith, and the scarcity of time to attend to the plethora of problems, the context in which staff members chose to invest their attention needed to be compelling. Because of this, the patterns of attention could be seen in part as a function of how attractive the context was to participate in. The staff seemed to attend to things they cared about, had efficacy in, and in which they liked, trusted and agreed with the other attendees. In other words, if they liked the "what" and/or the "who," they were likely to stay.

In Phases I and II, when the restructuring had a possibility of satisfying any and all agenda, attention was at its peak. As the solutions became more defined and choices were made resulting in winning and losing agenda, most participants with losing agenda withdrew their attention. Some of this attention could be seen in Phases III and IV moving to smaller projects that could adequately satisfy the losing agenda in other forms.

It could also be observed that when the leadership or membership of a situation changed there was a resultant shift in participation. An example of this occurred when Ms. Webster took over the leadership of the GOLD project. There was, as a result, a significant exodus of attention and support among the staff on the fringes of the project. It could be inferred that these faculty could see that this context would no longer be a place where they neither believed their agenda would be addressed, nor did they trust or like the direction of the project. This contextual motivation explanation could be further supported by the return of many of these teachers when the GOLD leadership changed. The data suggested that the context in which participation took place was affected by its interrelationship with both the participant's purpose for wanting to get involved and the timing of the attention within the course of events.

Participation as a function of its timing within the process. The importance of timing could be seen in the variation in participation throughout the phases of the process. The patterns of staff attention and involvement were different at the beginning of the restructuring, at the peak of the decision activity, and then again as the process began to stabilize. These different periods can be placed on the curve representing the degree of problem activity, as illustrated in Figure x.

Figure x: Problem Activity in each Phase



In Phases I and II, the staff of Smith approached the process of organizational change with little knowledge of what it was about and much trepidation, but with a paradigm assuming that the process would be rational and contain an answer that could satisfy their needs. All kept at least one foot in the process, and many jumped in with both. There was much sense of possibility, and a hopeful sense that good ideas and good will could pull together to create positive change.

In late Phase II, the conditions of organizational anarchy peaked. As a result, patterns of participation began to adapt to the anarchistic conditions. As previously described, alliances were formed creating a tightening circle of influence (i.e., the loop). Decisions were made mostly by flight and oversight resulting in disillusionment in some staff, and in others the clear knowledge that one's agenda would not be supported. Participation was solidified, creating insiders and outsiders. Outsiders would need to choose new venues of attention or discontinue their attention altogether.

Phase III saw the previous cycle repeated on a smaller scale with the opportunity to attend to GOLD. Yet, overall the patterns of participation were becoming more stable. The context of the restructuring had become clear. Participants made conspicuous choices given how attractive each context appeared to them.

In Phase IV, the conditions of organized anarchy waned. As a result, the participation patterns became more stable and were connected to more compatible problems and situations. A new set of participants seemed to emerge in this stage. In the early stages the participation was defined by mostly experienced members of the building who possessed assertive personalities and agenda, but in this later stage many of the able

participants were newer to the building, more visionary, and in most cases were asked by others to attend to a situation because of an expertise they had shown.

Participation as a function of staff members' purposes for involvement.

Together with timing and context, the purposes of the participant for attending to particular choice opportunities help explain the patterns of staff participation in the restructuring activities at Smith High. March and Olsen (1976) suggest two motivators causing members to attend to a particular situation are: a sense of obligation and symbolic reasons. Symbolic reasons include a desire for recognition, status, or position within the organization. The data support this theory and would add the needs of the participant as a third reason.

Obligation in many professions can be as simple as being told to do something. The data support research (Hargreaves, 1994; Lieberman, 1995) that in teaching obligation comes both from internal and external sources. Hargreaves (1994) suggests that much of the sense of obligation teachers feel is a result of guilt. This could be seen especially in Phase I. It appeared that many of the Smith teachers felt inadequate, so they attended to the restructuring to ease that condition. However, this source of motivation waned quickly and did not seem to be present in later phases.

External sources of obligation seemed to wane just as quickly. This was evidenced by the declining attendance at restructuring inservices. Many teachers felt as though their obligation was negated when leadership behaved hypocritically or made certain choices that they felt betrayed their trust and good faith.

Symbolic reasons for attending seemed to drive the early attention. Successful efforts to achieve high symbolic efficacy usually culminated with one becoming a "player" and member of the "loop." Unsuccessful efforts usually resulted in the eventual desertion of the process completely. Clear examples of this were two female teachers who had been at the forefront of the restructuring talk in the years leading up to the all-school vote. Both had been vocal advocates of their respective causes, both had been the leaders of small planning committees. But neither was embraced by the process, and by the end of Phase I they had ceased all involvement with central restructuring activity and their names were rarely mentioned at meetings of "players."

The symbolic motivation for attention to the process seemed to be highest for those who saw the process as a status activity. Many who reported a low desire for attending to the restructuring suggested they had more important things to do, for example continuing education or coaching. In general, the findings suggested that the status of being a "player" in the restructuring process seemed to be very high among females, whereas the status of being an athletic coach was higher among males.

Much of what motivated Smith staff to attend to particular situations could not be explained by either obligation or status. Much of what seemed to explain the pattern of involvement was in the form of intrapersonal needs. There is a great deal of research that suggests one problem with teaching as a job is that it does not often fully satisfy adult needs for growth and fulfillment (Glickman, 1985; Lieberman, 1992). The activity of working collaboratively to achieve improvement has been shown to improve job satisfaction (Herzberg, 1959; Mitchell, 1987). Yet the data from Smith shows that the need to take part in collaboration for change was inconsistent among the staff.

Some staff reported a real enjoyment of the restructuring process itself, while others seemed to be resistant to the process and even the notion of change. This can be attributed in part to the timing and context of each participant's attempts at attending, but there seemed to be support in the data for trait factors as necessary to explain the wide variation in teachers' perceptions of the change efforts. As discussed previously, the data suggested that teachers at Smith were typical of many teacher populations (Briggs-Myers, 1992; Morphord, 1991), some had personality types that were change-philiac and others that were change-phobic. As a result, for some the process felt good and others the process felt uncomfortable.

Implications for Theory and Practice

The results of this study have much to say to those trying to understand or undertake the process of change in schools. While the findings of this study support much of the research that has already been done on school restructuring, they also help clarify some of the enigmatic qualities of school change. In this section five primary implications for educational theory and practice related to restructuring are offered.

1. Restructuring efforts must be undertaken with an assumption that the process will be inherently ambiguous and paradoxical.

This study supports the notion that approaching the process of school restructuring as a rational process with predictable outcomes is a mistake (Hoy, 1994). This is especially true when the restructuring includes an effort to move to a more site-based form of governance. An organic approach that takes into consideration the unpredictability of the outcomes and participation is necessary. Each component of the changing system is inherently interconnected; thus, plans cannot be separated from personnel, players can not be separated from the values they represent, and each choice will produce a subsequent alteration of the system. As Fullan (1991) suggests, the process must be approached with a "technically simple, and socially complex lens" (p.11).

The process of democratic school change contains an inherent paradox that was clearly seen throughout the process at Smith High School. If the change outcomes are to be truly the staff's creations, then there can be no prescribed agenda, the process must be emergent and reflect the ideas and will of the whole. Yet, if there is no blueprint, then what guides the actions of those involved? It could be seen in this study that many staff wanted a clear idea of what the end result would look like, so they could feel comfortable making an investment in the process. Conversely, many others felt that the ideas needed to come from the Smith staff if they were to fit the needs of their school. It was rare that a common ground was found between these two orientations.

Given that a staff enters into a situation that is filled with unpredictability and an inherent paradox of intention when they enter into reorganization, it may be inferred that all staffs may not be well suited to attempting such an endeavor. The size of the faculty, their personality complexion, and the social climate need to be considered. A less ambitious type of program implementation may be more appropriate for many schools.

2. Under restructuring, participants should expect organizational problems to increase initially, but should not lose sight of the long range perspective, or the changes will likely be superficial.

While restructuring may lead to real and substantive changes that make a school more effective, the initial entrance into the process will exacerbate existing problems and produce new ones, making the jobs of staff members more difficult. As Glickman (1993) suggests, to succeed at restructuring with SBG, things will need to get worse before they get better.

Problem activity will be elevated at the beginning of the process as a result of a number of factors. Pre-existing problems are exposed due to the need for consensus and collaboration. New problems will result from the burden of developing new solutions, and the dynamics of the new patterns of participation. Each change and each choice produces a new set of problem-solving demands on the system.

An organizational mechanism must be in place to deal with this high volume of problem activity. This could take the form of a practiced site-based council, the reliance on the wisdom of selected individuals, or some form of efficient staff consensus. But, in the absence of some form of accepted decision system, many decisions will be made by default or accidentally. As March and Olsen (1976) and the findings of this study suggest, without a decision mechanism the big problems will not get solved, because the decision activity will usually take flight to smaller, simpler, less significant problems.

3. Decisions and directions taken early will set the course of the changes. There seems to be no way to restart or recreate the process once this course is set.

It seems, whether they are accidental or purposeful, that patterns formed at the peak periods of the decision activity will tend to be stable and defining. Patterns of participation that exist in this period, such as the development of the "loop" at Smith, become more exclusive and solidly shaped as the process evolves. Likewise, problems that are defined in this period will likely define the focus of the efforts. Winning and losing agenda further clarify both the "whos" and the "whats" of the restructuring.

If this is the case, remediation of a restructuring effort gone astray is unlikely. This is especially true if the effort has been undertaken with the expectation of being a democratic venture. At the peak period of decision activity the sociopolitical system becomes vested. To remove power from those who have emerged with clout from the organized anarchy could only occur nondemocratically, and even then it is unlikely that the environment could in the future support wide-scale collaboration.

Lessons from Smith provide some insight into achieving a direction that is tolerable. First, gaining an understanding of all-staff needs and wants through surveys and discussion seemed to protect against individual, self-serving agenda. Although they were not homogeneous, the staff attitudes were well documented. Second, those in positions of power should be accountable to the general good. This can take the form of elections for leadership positions. At Smith, chosen leaders could be seen as responsible for much of the faith, or lack of it, that the staff had in the process. Third, the leadership, which is the principal to a great extent, needs to intervene in the process to promote community, shared vision, and accountable leaders.

4. Certain leadership behaviors can mitigate some of the ambiguity and inefficiency involved in the process of restructuring.

Although the goal of incorporating site-based governance (SBG) is to move the decision making out of the hands of the administration and into those on the front lines, restructuring involving SBG has been shown to be much more effective with certain kinds of leaders (Wohlstetter, 1995). While there will be inherent unpredictability, uncertainty, and unstable participation in the process of reorganization, a leader can mitigate each of these conditions to some degree.

In light of the previous analysis, three implications for leaders can be drawn. First, since there will likely be a high decision load early in the process, the leader can be aware of this and take the role of making the smaller, more urgent decisions. Burdening large committees with deciding about small matters will bog down the process. Also, the leader could set priorities and act as gatekeeper of decisions of various importance.

Second, the leader should be a manager of human resources. This study demonstrated that the default condition involves those who are drawn to a particular situation attending to it, and those who assert themselves usually emerging as group leaders. Given this, the leader must be sensitive but deliberate in guiding the process of group leader selection. Also, the leader should make the effort to connect those with a clear idea of the problems with those with solutions. This requires a keen understanding of the restructuring and the skills and abilities of the staff, informed by the theoretical frame of "garbage can" decision making.

Third, the leader is, in most cases, the only person who can articulate a shared vision of the restructuring. The findings from Smith support the vast amount of research that has gone before indicating that a shared vision is critical to the success of the change effort. This fact suggests that the leader must be in constant communication with those in the process. He or she should have his or her eyes and ears open to what is going on, and then find appropriate occasions to reflect that information back to the staff. In this capacity the leader can act as a bridge between some of the potential problems and act as a clarifier of the intention of the restructuring.

5. Teacher involvement must be viewed in the context of human motivation; participants and situations cannot be viewed homogeneously.

One implication that is strongly suggested by the study findings is that teachers should be viewed as different, and their reasons for being more or less involved as subjective. It would be a mistake to assume that all teachers desire the symbolic rewards of being a "player." It would also be a mistake to assume that teachers either like or dislike the change process. Moreover, while many of the patterns that were evidenced at Smith reflect a common story among restructuring schools, the sociopolitical conditions at Smith cannot be generalized.

Inferring from the earlier analysis, teacher involvement could best be summed-up by the statement, "Teachers usually did what they liked and needed to do, and avoided what they did not like or need to do." "Liking" could be seen as a function of who else was involved, whose idea was being used, what the rewards were, and often was as simple as having or not having other things to do that one enjoyed more. It could be seen that for some teachers the restructuring filled a need. For some, the creative process was gratifying

in itself, and the prospect of change was invigorating. For others, being part of the action seemed to be a compelling need, while others had no such urge.

Summary

The results of this study demonstrate the need to examine decision making within the process of restructuring in a manner that considers the human and organic quality of the change process. While Smith High School is a unique place, and the patterns that were evidenced there were particular to the school and its staff, the underlying organizational principles that framed the process could clearly be seen. The findings supported much of the research that has been done previously related to restructuring. This was especially true of previous findings that suggest that restructuring is inherently unpredictable, and that leader behavior has a profound effect on the functioning of the process.

This study was an attempt to examine Smith High School. It is hoped that the reader gained a window into one episode of the life and work of the staff at one school attempting restructuring. It was certainly a world occupied by human beings. And the complex analysis of this study reflected the complex variables in the human decision-making process.

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